

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

-STADIS - FOR AMBASSADOR FROM MOOSE

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PEPR, US, FR, TZ

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2375

1. FOLLOWING IS PROPOSED DRAFT FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S
REPLY TO PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER OF JUNE 1. IN PREPARING
THIS DRAFT, DEPT WAS GUIDED BY YOUR COMMENTS CONTAINED
REFTEL. IN VIEW OUR DESIRE TO GIVE PRESIDENT NYERERE AN
IMMEDIATE RESPONSE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS
SOONEST.

2. BEGIN QUOTE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED

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BY YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 1 TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YOU ON
RECENT EVENTS IN SHABA AND THE INITIATIVES THAT THE UNITED
STATES HAS SUPPORTED TO RESTORE ORDER THERE. I PARTICULARLY
WELCOME THE FRANKNESS IN YOUR LETTER AND WILL REPLY
IN THE SAME SPIRIT.

FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO REASSURE YOU AS TO THE NATURE

AND INTENT OF OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SHABA OPERATION AND
IN THE JUNE 5 MEETING IN PARIS.

OUR INITIAL DECISION TO PROVIDE SUPPORT TO THE AIR RESCUE

OPERATION AT KOLWEZI WAS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS
THAT, IN THE EVENT, PROVED FULLY JUSTIFIED. THE SITUATION
NOW EXISTING IN SHABA COULD TRIGGER ECONOMIC COLLAPSE,
REGIONAL FRAGMENTATION AND WIDESPREAD SUFFERING THROUGHOUT
ZAIRE. IF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF SHABA IS TO BE RESTORED
AND A FURTHER BREAKDOWN IN ORDER AVOIDED, THERE MUST BE AN
EFFECTIVE MILITARY PRESENCE THERE. SINCE IT IS CLEARLY
UNDESIRABLE THAT FRENCH AND BELGIAN FORCES REMAIN THERE
INDEFINITELY, SOME AFRICAN STATES HAVE OFFERED TO TAKE
THEIR PLACE. AT THE REQUEST OF ALL INVOLVED, WE ARE
FACILITATING THIS EXCHANGE OF UNITS BY PROVIDING A US
AIRLIFT.

WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK ABOUT THE PRACTICES AND POLICIES OF
THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE ANY
BENEFIT THAT MIGHT FOLLOW TO ZAIRE OR TO AFRICA FROM A
REPETITION OF THE INTERNAL CHAOS THAT PLAGUED ZAIRE DURING
THE MID AND LATE 1960S AND BROUGHT SUCH SUFFERING AND
DEPRIVATION TO THE POPULATION. THE FIRST STEP IN PREVENT-
ING A SIMILAR SITUATION FROM ARISING NOW IS TO RESTORE
NORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND PEACE IN SHABA.

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OUR PURPOSE IS NOT SIMPLY TO SUPPORT THE STATUS QUO IN
ZAIRE. AS I DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA LAST MONTH,
WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR CHANGE. FUNDAMENTAL REFORM
MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ANY LASTING SOLUTION TO ZAIRE'S
DIFFICULTIES. WE SEE THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC ORDER
IN SHABA AS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP.

IN VIEW OF THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION WE HAVE AGREED TO
ATTEND THE JUNE 5 MEETING IN PARIS TO DISCUSS THIS IMME-
DIATE PROBLEM WITH THE FRENCH AND OTHER CONCERNED EUROPEAN
GOVERNMENTS. WE WILL ALSO USE THE OCCASION TO PREPARE FOR
THE LONG-PLANNED BRUSSELS MEETING ON JUNE 13-14, WHERE
LONGER RANGE PLANS FOR INTERNAL REFORM AND ECONOMIC
RECOVERY WILL BE DISCUSSED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE.

THE FRENCH AND OTHERS HAVE, INDEED, RAISED THE POSSIBILITY
OF FORMING A WESTERN-BACKED INTER-AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE.
I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT OUR FOCUS IS STRICTLY ON THE PRESENT
SITUATION IN SHABA. I CAN ALSO ASSURE YOU THAT WE HAVE NO
INTENTION OF PARTICIPATING IN ANY NON-AFRICAN FORUM THAT
ARROGATES TO ITSELF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINDING SOLU-

TIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. I WOULD FIND A SECOND BERLIN CONFERENCE JUST AS REPUGNANT AND HISTORICALLY ANACHRONISTIC AS YOU DO.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE PROBLEMS UNDERLYING TENSION AND UNREST IN VARIOUS PARTS OF AFRICA ARE COMPLEX AND LONG-STANDING. MY ADMINISTRATION HAS CONCENTRATED ON SEEKING SOLUTIONS THAT STRIKE AT THE ROOT OF THESE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS. WE HAVE EMPHASIZED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS THAT WILL HELP AFRICAN COUNTRIES REMOVE THE DISPARITIES IN MATERIAL WELL-BEING THAT WILL OTHERWISE LEAD TO SOCIAL CONFLICT. YOU AND I ARE WORKING TOGETHER TOWARDS RECTIFYING RACIAL INJUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA THAT OTHERWISE CANNOT BUT LEAD TO INCREASING VIOLENCE AND INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. ACTIONS
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SUCH AS THESE ARE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR POLICY IN AFRICA.

I RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, AND FOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT BETWEEN THEM THAT EACH WILL RESPECT THEIR COMMON BORDER AND WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE OTHER'S INTERNAL UNREST. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTED NIGERIA'S EFFORTS TO MEDIATE SUCH AN AGREEMENT AFTER THE FIRST INVASION OF SHABA. SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE IN THOSE TALKS. HOPEFULLY, NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA CAN BE RESUMED.

WE WILL NOT, HOWEVER, IGNORE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA WHICH APPEAR TO US TO BE DIRECTED NOT TOWARD THE RESOLUTION OF AFRICA'S PROBLEMS BUT TOWARD THE ADVANCEMENT OF THEIR OWN SPECIAL INTERESTS. THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE ALL THE MORE DANGEROUS WHEN THEY EXACERBATE LOCAL CONFLICTS AND PROMOTE MILITARY SOLUTIONS THAT TAKE HUMAN LIVES AND PROLONG SUFFERING. THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN ERITREA BY SUPPORTING ETHIOPIA'S DETERMINATION TO IMPOSE A MILITARY SOLUTION WHEN ONLY A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT CAN BRING LASTING STABILITY.

I FRANKLY DIFFER WITH YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE CUBAN ROLE IN SHABA. WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE CUBANS WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE KATANGANS IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS PRECEDING THE ATTACK ON KOLWEZI. OUR REACTION WAS NOT, HOWEVER, ONE OF REFLEXIVE ANTI-COMMUNISM OR COLD WAR POLITICS. IT WAS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CONCERN AND RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY OF A LEGITIMATE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT AFRICAN STATES, WORKING THROUGH THE OAU, IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE MANY
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DIFFICULT ISSUES FACING THE CONTINENT. THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU IN DEALING WITH CONFLICTS IN ERITREA, THE OGADEN, CHAD, THE SPANISH SAHARA AND NOW SHABA, HOWEVER, HAVE THUS FAR BEEN OF LITTLE AVAIL. LEFT UNRESOLVED, THESE PROBLEMS INVITE THE INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDE AND NON-AFRICAN FORCES.

I CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT AFRICAN LEADERS SUCH AS YOURSELF WILL FIND THE MEANS TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS AND THAT THE KHARTOUM MEETING WILL PROVIDE THE CATALYST FOR EFFECTIVE AFRICAN ACTION.

I REMAIN SINCERELY COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF SUPPORTING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS BECAUSE I KNOW THAT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, PERMANENT SIGNIFICANT RESULTS ARE POSSIBLE ONLY IN THIS WAY. THE ALTERNATIVE IS ONE THAT YOU AND I KNOW WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF NEITHER AFRICA NOR THE UNITED STATES. OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SHABA PROBLEM WILL BE STRICTLY LIMITED AND DESIGNED TO MINIMIZE NON-AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT. I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR ADVICE AND HELP IN BRINGING ABOUT A SOLUTION THAT WILL BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF SHABA, ZAIRE AND ALL OF AFRICA.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES AND SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER OUR DIALOG. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU FURTHER. SINCERELY JIMMY CARTER. END QUOTE

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